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AN

APPEAL

TO THE

GOOD SENSE OF THE DEMOCRATS

AND THE

PUBLIC SPIRIT OF THE FEDERALISTS.

BY A CITIZEN OF MASSACHUSETTS.

BOSTON :

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AN APPEAL, &c.

ALL the energies of a nation were never more imperiously demanded, than are those of this country at the present crisis. But these energies, if excited, will have but a feeble and irregular operation, without unity of design, organization and concert. It is impossible in the present confusion and fluctuation of affairs, to determine on a long course of proceedings. We must feel out our way step by step, take advantage of occasions as they occur, and adapt our conduct to varying circumstances. The first step is to determine under whom to act ; the next to bring ourselves into proper system and subordination, that we may act with effect. Till these are taken, it is futile to think of any general plan, or prospective system of operations. In regard to the first consideration, the choice of conductors, I think that no sensible man can now be of opinion, that those, who have hitherto guided the affairs of this country, are any longer to be depended upon. It seems to me, that a recapitulation of some of the facts, which are within the recollection or observation of all, will force this conviction upon the mind of every man, and suggest to him the only alternative that circumstances admit.

We well remember the time when the affairs of this nation were in other hands ; when the great men, who had learned wisdom in the school of experience, who had been educated in scenes of difficulty and danger, whose virtues were the hardy growth of adversity, possessed something more than the sterile respect of the public, (for of this you cannot deprive them ;) they were consulted, their opinions had au-

thority, and their influence was felt. It was not surprising that the nation should be willing to be preserved and governed by those to whom it owed its existence. Those were days of happiness and pride; we were not then subjects of wrong and insulting oppression at home, and when abroad we were not obliged to assume the character of Englishmen, to avoid insult and contempt. We have all at length come to have the same opinion of those times, and they are recollected with regret as well by those whose wickedness and folly so soon put a period to them, as by those who used all their means to make them perpetual. But times have changed, and the nature of the change was early pointed out by the men, whose public services have been rewarded by the ingratitude of the nation. They advised, they warned, they conjured the people not to lay violent hands on themselves, not to be made the willing instruments of their own destruction. Virtue, interest, gratitude, and common sense forbade the wild and wayward dereliction, and the malignant persecution of acknowledged benefactors. But madness ruled the hour. An infatuated people saw all objects distorted and reversed. Ingenious and cruel iniquity knew how to profit by this delirium; it humoured the phrenzy which it had inspired, and with which it was partially affected. Its yielding subjects, having been long charmed with fictions of magnificence and luxurious repose upon a bed of roses, begin now, though too late, to be brought to a perception of their real situation, by the pain of the burning coals upon which they have been reclined. How short a time since our great and patriotic Ames was reviled in abusive language, as a madman, for asserting what none but mad men now can doubt. Accomplishments have too faithfully followed predictions; it is no longer necessary to quote the authority of the great and good men, whom we ought always to have believed, to prove the depravity and folly of our betrayers and destroyers. The evidence is before us all, too clear to be mistaken, and too demonstrative

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not to produce conviction. Look at the pitiful officers of government, by whom we are every where surrounded, betraying and disgracing the public, wasting its resources, injuring and insulting its citizens, and mutually accusing each other of fraud and folly; while all impartial men ratify the mutual criminations—look at our finances, concerning which so many pompous, silly things have been said and believed among the people—look at the army, if indeed we have any thing which deserves the name—look at the records of chicanery, duplicity, and meanness, which our government would fain pass upon us for something respectable, under the well sounding name of negotiation—look at the inventory of your own property and your means of employment—look at the capital.

But, say the architects of national ruin, the federalists have contributed to this accumulation of calamity and infamy, by withholding cooperation from the government, and embarrassing its measures by opposition. To what instance do they refer us of this sinister influence of Federal activity, or Federal apathy? Their members of Congress have displayed a heady extravagance, and wanton perversity in deliberation; they have deprived sober men, of the rights of free public debate. This was certainly their own work, and for the consequent disgraces and blunders, they may thank themselves. They have abridged the independence, and impaired the respectability of the judiciary. The credit of this they do not wish to share, they doubtless deem it part of their glory. Many of their treasurers, collectors and agents, have proved rogues, and defrauded the public. Were these men approved, have their characters and conduct been passed without animadversion, by the Federalists? They have enacted laws destructive of commerce and industry; they have authorized their bailiffs and catchpolls to intermeddle in the private concerns of well-disposed citizens, to violate their property and personal liberty; and not content with enacting absurd, tyrannical, and pernicious laws, with the ordinary sanc-

tions, they have annexed to their breach, enormous and unheard of penalties. If they have been instigated to these measures, by the opposition made against them by the Federalists, then the latter have so far been the cause of our sufferings. They have appointed as foreign ministers, men whose minds were too narrow to embrace great national interests ; men, who, instead of representing the nation with dignity, were only qualified for bickerings and submissions. But considering an ambassador as a representative of his government, the choice of ours, in many instances, must be allowed to have been very happy. What does our government discover in Federal policy, to justify its conduct towards Spain ? Have the Federalists instigated them to the seizure of West Florida, and while the "supereminent man" was stabbing the Spaniard on one side, to pick his pocket on the other ? If a war with that nation is the effect, we shall not forget its cause. What measure of the opposition suggested to our rulers the dissolution of the national bank ? The treasury is exhausted, and public credit can hardly be said to exist ; yet they have levied and collected taxes without any obstacle. It is true, that men, who understood their own interest, have refused to lend them money ; men of public spirit have dissuaded others from doing the same, thinking it but just to prevent the means of mischief from coming into the hands of the mischievously disposed. The event has justified the cautions which they gave, and it is not much to be regretted, that those who have preferred their profits to their principles, in defiance of the warnings given them, are likely to suffer for their sordidness. But suppose they had raised greater loans, the only consequence would have been, that we might now have reckoned up a greater amount of losses. It is neither safe nor honourable to lend money to gamesters, and instead of complaining that they have not been able to squander away, in their desperate throws, the whole fortunes of their friends and enemies, they ought to think themselves very successful

to have taken in so many. They have dried up the sources of profit, let that suffice ; and let them not be angry though some reservoirs of stagnant wealth are left untouched. Finally, do they suppose Federalists in any way responsible for this war, with all its disgraceful and ruinous consequences ? They were often told at the commencement, that this war had neither motives nor justification. Their pretended motives have long since ceased to exist ; and no reasons could justify a war, carried on as the present has been. The idea of hostilities was deprecated by us, before their declaration, and they have taken all the pains possible, to prove us in the right, by their miserable management ; they begin, indeed, to sigh for peace no less sincerely, than they raved and clamoured in the outset for arms. They invite and conjure us to join them, and fight for the peace which they now think so desirable, but which, three years ago, they so lightly rejected. They blame us that it has not been already obtained. This was to be expected. We remember when they undertook to hold the balance between France and England, to regulate the laws of blockade, to starve the English people into insurrection against their own government, and the West India islands into dependence on ours. The failure of all these magnificent projects was attributed to Federal reluctance and evasion. Now they are dragging us after them in a war, in which disaster is so blended with weakness and folly, as to render even misery ridiculous ; and the authors of this evil and disgrace, pretend to trace them to Federal counteraction. In what part of the long tissue of ills and follies is this sinister interference interwoven ? It was for the government to have made preparation for a war which itself declared, and which it has accompanied with so much gasconade and bombast. Yet they had at best no more than the rudiments of a navy, their army was small, mostly composed of raw troops, without discipline, almost without subordination, and commanded by generals, who had little reputation for experience in

the art of war, still less for a knowledge of the science, or the talents necessary to its attainment. These commanders were not forced upon them they were men of their own choice, many of them their confidential friends and particular favourites; and this indeed accounts for the result. They were promoted, not for their ability to fill the places to which they were appointed, but because Mr. Madison & Co. delighted to honour them. Such was our army, and such were most of its commanders, at the commencement of a war for conquest and glory. Other things were answerable. No arsenals and magazines were formed on the frontiers, near the scene of action; ships were still to be built on the lakes, though the command of those waters was so important, as a part of a system of offensive warfare. Many of the towns on the Atlantic shore were defended by works, which deserved the name of saluting stations, rather than that of fortifications. Of the strong forts, some were wretchedly garrisoned, and others not garrisoned at all. Such was the state of this country, when Mr. Madison began his war, and at a time too when Great Britain had an interest in peace, and discovered a great desire for its preservation. It is not wonderful, then, that the desperate enterprise was opposed by the Federalists; and even treated with levity by many, who thought the government could not possibly be serious in proposing it. Having precipitated themselves into difficulties, and the country into peril, they have discovered all the imbecility and inconstancy, poverty and profligacy of resources, which are the usual attendants of temerity. They began by lavishly spending the small treasures that had been collected. They then resorted to loans, double duties, direct taxes, and loans again, at enormous premiums, till at length every source of revenue is exhausted. Commerce is annihilated, and with it are lost its duties; direct taxes are with difficulty collected; loans can no longer be negotiated. What part of this disproportion of means to undertakings, this profligacy, and bankruptcy, has

been derived from Federal opposition or concurrence? Most of the taxes, which they have proposed, have been voted without division, and raised without insurrection. And mark the contrast; the very man at whose suggestion these taxes have been thus peaceably voted and raised, was one of the fomentors of an insurrection, in 1798, on account of a lighter tax, levied in better times, and for much better purposes. So far indeed from being disappointed in their resources, they have received, by loans and revenue, many millions more than Mr. Gallatin estimated, on the tenth of January, one thousand eight hundred and twelve, would be necessary to execute all their extravagant designs. Yet with these means, more ample than they professed to need, instead of effecting one of their purposes, every instrument they have used has recoiled with ten-fold force against themselves. This is one of the thousand instances in which they are convicted, upon their own showing, of incapability to manage any affairs of war or government. In short, the resources of this country have been as accessible to its government, as ever those of any country were to any just government; it has levied what taxes it pleased, and negotiated what loans it could; and if, as some complain, it has not been able to avail itself of means to their full extent, it has been because it was incapable and unworthy of using them, and because that incapacity was, from the beginning, known to many, and is now, I may almost say, expressly acknowledged by all. No; it has not been for want, but by misapplication of resources, that our government has disgraced and ruined the country; and if any Federalists have discouraged loans or taxes, they are to be applauded for the calamities and disgraces they have prevented, not blamed for those they have caused. Our government, and the commanders of our armies, have taken their own time for every thing. They chose their own time for declaring the war; and after it was declared prematurely, and without preparation, still our ships and armies

might have made their preparations unmolested, had the former remained quietly in our ports, and the latter in their quarters. But how absurd, you say, to proclaim hostilities, and delay their commencement; thereby giving the enemy time to prepare for his own defence, or the annoyance of us. How much more absurd, I reply, to do one rash and headlong deed, in pursuance of another, merely to maintain a consistency in folly; and to hurry an army into an enemy's country, before its force and equipments were adequate, because hostilities had been declared before there was proper occasion. If our army had consisted of eighty thousand men, could not the hands of seventy nine thousand have been tied by an armistice, while the enemy were cutting up the eightieth at their leisure, as was the case in the beginning of this preposterous conflict? Under the conduct of such men as those with whom this country has been cursed, the feebler the armaments, the fewer the probabilities of disaster; and it seems that they themselves, sensible of this, have done every thing on a small scale, and, notwithstanding the magnitude of their enterprises, have made contemptible preparations, that they might contract the subjects of their direction, to the narrow limits of their own views and capacities. They have been prodigal of revenues, which, though greater than they at first asked, they may now affect to consider small. Would they have been economical had their funds been more ample? There has been a total want of system, design, and harmony, in the operations of a small army; is it then to be supposed, that they would have found place in one more numerous? Want of discipline, and insubordination have prevailed among a few, and two generals have been compelled by the demands or votes of their troops to pass over into Canada and be beaten. Would a multitude have been more tractable? If those, whom they have affected to call Tories, had surrendered all their property to the disposal of such a government, and taken up arms and placed themselves under the command of

such leaders, what would have been the consequence, but that a hundred millions would have been wasted instead of sixty ; and for one soldier that has been butchered, died from bad accommodations, or rotted with disease, there would have been a return of five ? What could the Federalists have done to prevent the bickerings, reproaches, criminations and recriminations which have taken place between our government and its officers, among the officers themselves, and between the officers and soldiers ? Statesmen of the Boston stamp have had no concern in appointing generals, some of whom have been condemned as unworthy, and one as worthy of the gallows. The members of the British faction have made dinners and held festivals in celebration of Russian victories ; but they have never solicited the Russian emperor to settle a contest in which they had boastfully engaged ; nor implored him to protect them against an adversary whom they had voluntarily defied and professed to hold in contempt. These are not the men, who, in defiance of all law and right, confined forty-six British officers and soldiers, with a hundred pompous formalities and declarations, in pretended retaliation of what was no injury, and then pusillanimously and inconsistently released them. It is true this was an act of justice, and for that very reason our chief magistrate contradicted the general tenor of his conduct, and especially and pointedly all his declarations on this subject, when he did it.

We should never have done, were we to go on to enumerate all the instances of dishonour and suffering, which have been brought upon this nation during the last six years. Among all these I find none that is to be charged to the party of sober and sensible men. Those who have stood first in their ranks, have uniformly opposed the pernicious designs of the government, pointed out its errors and weaknesses, and warned us of the evils which were impending over us. While the government, seconded by all its abettors, as well the corrupt as the deluded, has been

annihilating commerce, they have brought to its defence all their reason and their eloquence. While it has cringed to one foreign nation, and crept on in humble cooperation with its nefarious designs, they have made it hear the language of honour and justice—when it insulted another foreign power, they remonstrated—when it has wantonly sacrificed the national interests, they have protested—when it has va-poured and threatened, they have replied in firm and dignified language—when it has enacted absurd and tyrannical laws, they have given their negative—when it has announced its magnificent projects, they have given notice of its slender means—amidst profligacy and waste, they have advocated economy—when incapable and corrupt men have been elevated and trusted, they have not failed to describe their characters—when the nation was in danger, they told how it might be saved—now it is in temporary ruins, it is under their conduct and counsel, and theirs alone, we hope to restore it. Thus have the Federalists, from the beginning, set themselves against the wayward and wicked measures of our government. Thus have they mitigated the sufferings which have overtaken us. This is not all. The calamities which they have prevented, would have been still greater than those they have assuaged. Though we are a degraded and miserable nation, yet law has still some authority, and rights some respect. This would not now have been the case, had not the partizans of Mr. Madison had more respect for those who have supported justice and order, than they have had for justice and order themselves. How often have we heard the threat, from the bad eminence of misrule, “that opposition should be put down;” in other words, that no citizen should be allowed to express his disapprobation of the measures of the government. This threat has been repeated by all the echoes of administration, from all the depths and recesses of the party. In every country where there has been a semblance of freedom, it has been permitted the citizens to op-

pose the government by censuring its proceedings, and shewing their error or their weakness. But the exercise of this right has, among us, received the denomination of treason. This might have been accepted for the insincere vapouring of empty blusterers, had not the circumstances, frequency, and apparent seriousness, with which this language has been used, and the persons by whom and the situations in which it has been repeated, proved it to have been intended for something more. At one time the Democratic part of the Senate of Massachusetts, which then, by one of the manœuvres of the leaders of party, composed the majority of that body, declared, in their answer to the governour's speech, that certain men, meaning the principal Federalists, were to be driven from the country. And who were the men that thus denounced the venerable achievers of our independence, and framers of our constitutions? I well remember that among them, and one of course the most active in such a business, was the virtuous, patriotic and enlightened Wm. King of Maine, the same who is said to have made such immense sacrifices under the restrictive and prohibitory laws, which he and his friends so zealously enacted and so enthusiastically admired. The cutting off of heads, and it was well understood what heads, was at one time the common topick of open conversation among the directors of that party. In fine, it seemed by their language and conduct to be their wish and expectation, that the scenes of Baltimore should be acted over, with aggravated atrocities, in all parts of the United States. And why have they not been? This we owe, fellow-citizens, to the firm and dignified conduct of those men, whose worth entitles them to the hatred and persecutions of the bad, and the confidence and support of the good.

As many of us as have chosen have been conducted through this series of difficulties, dangers, follies and disgraces, by a body of men of more public spirit, disinterestedness, discretion and firmness, than

are often to be found at the head of a party ; men whose only faults, for it is the part of human nature to have them, have been, in the estimation of their friends, too great moderation and forbearance. With these their enemies at least have charged them, though they have given them other names. We have at length arrived at a period most difficult and trying, one which demands all our wisdom and all our energies. While our government hired volunteers to go and fight for honours and plunder on the waters of the atlantic, and in the snows of Canada, it was for us to censure the extravagance, pay our part of the cost, share what of the reproach we could not avoid, and be quiet. But those times have gone by. The folly and treachery of our government has brought an enemy into our dwellings, it is for us to give an account of him. This we are to do, not because we are called upon by the man who was chosen to be chief magistrate of the United States, who still addresses us in the heroics of imbecility, and talks of the high destinies of a country which he has done his utmost to ruin. We leave him to wander over the desolate site of his palace, and contemplate in the ashes of the capitol, an emblematic monument of his administration. The government which we instituted for protection, has abandoned us, therefore we shall be safe. True we here and there witness the meddling interference of inflated littleness. But let it busy and fret itself, till it is lulled asleep by its own senseless humming. Meantime let us set about the great work before us ; let us find in this chaos the elements of order, and in this infamy the seeds of honour. We hear the voice of our own venerable chief magistrate ; let it animate us to yield something of our services to that public, to which he devotes every thing. A regard for our own persons and property points out our course. Let us sacrifice part of our goods in manly defence, rather than all in disgraceful capitulation. If our persons are to be bruised, let it be in the field, not in bearing burdens of plunder from

our own stores, to gratify invading rapacity. Honour, pride, local attachments and public spirit second the call of our governour, and bid us guard our metropolis from contamination, and prevent the enemy from leaving in it marks of his triumph and signals of reproach to ourselves and shame to posterity.

At the same time let us understand ourselves well and be explicit. We are called upon to strengthen the hands of government. To this call I believe most of us are deaf, if that government be meant, the energy of whose hands we have never felt, except in attempts to strangle us. We devote our services to the public good, and have no hope of their being directed to this object, but under the direction of the government of Massachusetts. Of that other authority, whose baleful control we have so long deprecated, we only ask that it will not encumber us with its interference, and palsy our strength by its benumbing touch. If it furnish us with all the facilities in its power, in munitions and implements of war, and the cooperation of its forces, we shall be content. But even these let it withhold, rather than bestow them accompanied with its counsels and commands. We have had too full an experience of these already, and I am persuaded that I express a very general sentiment, in saying that, as far as moral evil and pecuniary sacrifice are to be regarded, it would be better that Boston should be treated as Alexandria has been, rather than be subjected to two years of such misgovernment as that under which this country has of late suffered; just as one would prefer to receive at once, a deep wound, rather than have his marrow eaten away by a slow poison. We wish to do nothing which may prolong or strengthen that deleterious power.

They call upon us to forget party distinctions, and bury party animosities. This we have always been ready to do. They invite us to act on the broad principles of public spirit and national honour. This we always have done. Our politics and our patriotism, are but different names of the same thing. We should

be the basest of men, to act in contradiction of our principles and opinions, and these we have no reason to change. Every event is a new confirmation of them. Do they say the same on their part? How then came we into this deplorable condition? But they do not say it. All who have any sensibility to truth and sincerity of expression, begin to give testimony against the men whom we have opposed, and the opinions which we have combated. The more ingenuous are loud in the execration of their betrayers, and frank in the acknowledgment of their errors. They triumph in a victory over their prejudices, and glory in the discovery and promotion of the general good. Many have set this noble example, and many more ought to have imitated it. They will do it. You will, my countrymen, acknowledge the secret convictions, which do you honour, and which will do you still greater honour when they cease to be secret. You will again be what you once were. You will again repose confidence in such men, as it was once your pride to respect. We have long tried them, and cordially recommend them to your support. You have long observed them, and must, by this time, cease to distrust their integrity. To whom else can you look for the salvation of your country? Those conceited things, which, in the sunshine of easy times, were so ostentatious at parade, and so flippant at caucus, where are they now, when the sky blackens, and the thunder begins to roll? The greater part have skulked into their hiding places, and but for their whining and carping, it would be forgotten that they exist. Some remain in the scene to gather up the plunder which confusion always exposes to unprincipled cupidity. A few of the most desperate, still affect to act, and giddily hurry to and fro, at their wits' end, without method, purpose or effect. None but weak and infatuated men, will continue to follow such leaders as these. Forsake, at length, those of the impostors, who have not already done you the kindness to desert you. We have suffered with you long

enough on their principles ; it is for you now to co-operate with us in saving the country upon ours.

For ourselves, we have no doubt concerning the first step to be taken in this business. We have long acted under the auspices of such men as Caleb Strong and Rufus King. It is our purpose still to be advised by them. We have long lamented, that our sense of duty and love of country prevented us from making an active effort, to parry the disgraces and ills, of which we have been the subjects and witnesses. Our hands are, at length, unbound. We may now oppose one enemy, without strengthening another. We are ordered to take our arms. This we do cheerfully. Our purpose is to grapple the enemy whenever he comes within our reach, and drive him from our soil. It is a question of honour and not of expediency. It requires no deliberation. We are stationed at a post, which to abandon, without a vigorous resistance, would be foul disgrace.

We well understand the immediate object of our efforts, and, in general, the men under whose direction they must be made. At the same time, let us be sensible to the difficulties of our situation, that we may encounter them with fortitude, and the sooner overcome them. We have yet to arrange ourselves in such system and subordination, as may give our exertions the greatest effect. There are many in all parts of the United States, and of all parties, with whom we would gladly cooperate in the service of our country. But we have no regular communication, no common council and authority. Our only bond of union is a similarity of sentiments and wishes. We must wait patiently then, till some combination can be made of the resources, talents and patriotism of the country. If such a combination be possible, we expect of those, whose proper office it is to form it, not to be idle. But though, by the weakness and fatuity of the general government, the individual states have become, in a measure, isolated from each other, it is not at present a great misfortune to Massachu-

setts. All the embarrassments which we shall at present feel, in our separate system of action, would not be less if we were part of a greater system. We have probably men and resources more than sufficient to meet any force, that the enemy will immediately send against us. And if our exertions were as intimately blended with those of the other states, and had such a dependence upon them, as we could wish, still it is probable that more of the general burden would fall upon our shoulders, than, in present circumstances, we shall be obliged to bear.

Our disorganized condition affords the only reason for not wishing the enemy to land in our neighbourhood to-morrow. A degree of confusion and perturbation are unavoidably incident to new circumstances, and these it is the duty of every man to apply all his activity and influence to remedy. The legislature will soon be assembled, and if it, as we expect it will, possess a dignity and spirit worthy of Massachusetts, it will be a powerful agent in the diffusion of vigour and introduction of order. But we all have our offices and functions, as well as the representatives theirs, and we may enter upon them as well before, as after the fifth of October.

If the public resources are inadequate, we can augment them, by voluntary contributions and services; and it is the concern of superintendants, to see that these are procured, in a manner the least burdensome to individuals, and the most useful to the public.

A very numerous body of militia is collected, and collecting, in the neighbourhood of Boston. They are not collected for pastime and shew, as they are wont to be; nor as a sort of supernumeraries, as militia commonly are. If they act at all, (and there is little doubt that they will be required to) they must act against veteran troops; they must answer the purpose of a regular army, and therefore ought, immediately, to be converted into something as like regular soldiers as possible. Instead of being encouraged to indulge the hope, that we shall not be molested, till their three

months' service is expired ; they should be made to think of the enemy, to expect, to wish to see him. And this they will do, when they are properly prepared to meet him.

The first measures for forming an army out of these materials, belong to the governour and council, and the commanding officers ; and we have no doubt of their understanding and doing their duty. Meantime it is our part to regard their conduct with the greatest candour and liberality, not expecting them to be changed in a moment, from peaceable civil magistrates and retired gentlemen, into consummate marshals and generals, any more than they are to expect from us, to be transmuted in a twinkling, from sober husbandmen, mechanics and tradesmen, into well disciplined soldiers. Let us all be active, vigilant, public-spirited, and liberal-minded, and our affairs will go well, every thing will come in its proper place, and affairs will be transacted, at first as they can be, afterwards as they should be.

There is no doubt that, as soon as it is practicable, the militia will be called out in such portions, and for such periods of service, as that only a small part shall leave the camp at once ; and then those who take their places, will soon catch the spirit and discipline of the great body which remains.

Doubtless every exertion is making to establish a commissariat, that all articles of necessity and convenience, may be procured at the cheapest rate, and of the best kind. Barracks are erecting, tents preparing, hospitals providing, and surgeons to be appointed, and precautions taken that the wages of the soldiers may be regularly and punctually paid. This I do not state from a particular personal knowledge, but because I know it to be expected by all who are called into service, and because my confidence in those who provide and direct, does not permit me to doubt, that proper attention is given to these subjects.

Though we have a high opinion of the ability, merit, and patriotism, of the men under whose guidance,

we act ; it is useless to conceal from ourselves, that a long interval of comparative inactivity, has left us destitute of the personal confidence, and enthusiastic attachment, which are the soul of discipline and pledge of victory. We cannot feel towards each other, like those who have suffered and triumphed together. Though many of our commanders knew something of service, during the revolutionary war ; it was a long time ago ; and the sight of their countenances does not, like that of veteran generals to veteran soldiers, awaken in many of us, the recollection of past, and desire of future scenes of danger and glory. But we know that they have talents and courage. When they have come together, they will mutually operate on each other ; talents will be disclosed, and character strengthened by exigency ; and each one will soon assume the rank and influence, for which nature and education have qualified him. Let them show themselves to us, who are in the ranks, and do every thing to excite personal attachment and respect. Let them teach us our duty, encourage obedience, discipline and skill, by noticing them, and bestowing such distinctions as are in their power ; and the first time they lead us into the field they shall be more than rewarded for their labours.

A great obstacle to the conversion of militia into effective soldiery, arises from the relation in which officers and privates stand to each other, as citizens. Before general orders were issued, the captain may have been a partner in business with the colonel, and the common soldier, on a committee with the captain. It is difficult to render them, to day, passive instruments in the hands of those, whose equals they were yesterday, and expect soon to be again. There is however, in the character of our people, a remedy for this evil. Though they have a great repugnance to any thing resembling arbitrary authority, and yield a reluctant obedience to persons ; they are willing to obey laws, and submit to general regulations, that are properly established. It is better to humour this dis-

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position, than attempt to overcome it. There is the strongest reason for doing this, since their military service is but a short digression from their general habits. It is on the whole, a favourable circumstance, and may be taken advantage of, to render them more tractable, and combined with their characteristic shrewdness and intelligence, may be improved to teach them by instruction, what it would require much longer time to learn by mere practice. This may be done, by instructing the officers minutely in military laws and rules, that they may communicate them to their soldiers ; or manuals may be distributed among the officers and common soldiers, who may well enough devote to the study of them, part of the time which they would otherwise spend in the perusal of newspapers.

A musket is necessarily, at first, an unwieldy implement in the hands of one, who has been accustomed, all his life, to use a sickle, a planing tool, or yard-stick. And those who have never gone off their own grounds, except to market or to meeting, will not immediately assume a very martial air. To give them the balance and prompt management of their arms and bodies, minute and frequent drills, in very small bodies, are requisite. Many of the officers have little more skill than their soldiers. The officers themselves might be drilled, and thus taught to exercise their men. Or if this be thought a derogation from their dignity, there are, in and about Boston, many young gentlemen well skilled in the manual exercise and military evolutions, who would doubtless be ready to communicate their knowledge to the militia companies, if any method of doing it were proposed. By severe and exact drilling, a raw soldier is not only enabled to use his limbs and weapons with greater agility ; he is insensibly inspired with a military spirit and pride in obedience. Unless by this and other means, you awaken the ardour and confidence of the soldier ; reviews and mock-fights rather damp than animate his courage, since they give him

an idea of the terrors of war, without any sentiment of its glories.

The excitement of a spirit of emulation, from the competitions of regiments, down to those of individuals, may be rendered one of the most powerful instruments in forming this mass of labourers and men of business, into creatures of war.

There is great danger of disease, from crowding together so many men, who have not been accustomed to prepare their own food, or take care of their own persons. Besides the exertions of the officers and surgeons, much may be done to prevent this by the inhabitants of Boston and its neighbourhood, by merely making suggestions to the officers of companies with whom they may chance to be acquainted, or by furnishing such little conveniences as they are able. And if any thing can be done by the women, their public spirit and benevolence may be calculated upon with still greater confidence. It will only be necessary to intimate to them any service they can render.

Licentiousness, and all the other vices bred by indolence, will of course be prevented by military exercises, labouring upon the fortifications, beating to arms at unusual hours, and the like, as frequently and as much as the zeal and discipline of a temporary army will permit. If these be not sufficient, it may not be inexpedient to encourage such active and athletic sports, as tend to keep up the spirits of the soldiers, and give suppleness to their limbs.

I have been insensibly drawn into this detail, somewhat beyond my original intention; and though I might proceed much further, I am aware that plausible objections are not wanting, to some things I have already said. These I shall not anticipate for the purpose of answering, but rest satisfied, if I may have done any thing towards rendering every man responsible to the public for the performance of his duty, and calling the attention of men, of more experience and better judgment, to those subjects upon which I have thrown out my crude and imperfect thoughts.

Finally, let us bear in mind, that however it may be with our own safety, and that of Old Massachusetts, our honour, at least, is in our hands, and this we may vindicate in spite of fate and the general government. Mean while, let us not vapour and boast, more especially, if in any individual instance or two, we may be worsted. If Mr. Madison, by one of his masterly military manœuvres, converts more defeats into victories, let us brace our muscles and be grave, while the English laugh. If there shall be a battle of Boston, let us fight it as becomes men, (to say nothing about *free, brave, invincible*, and all that stuff;) and when we have done, not imagine that it will make a greater figure in history, than the battle of Leipsic, but be contented with considering the battle of Lake Erie equal to that of the Nile.

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